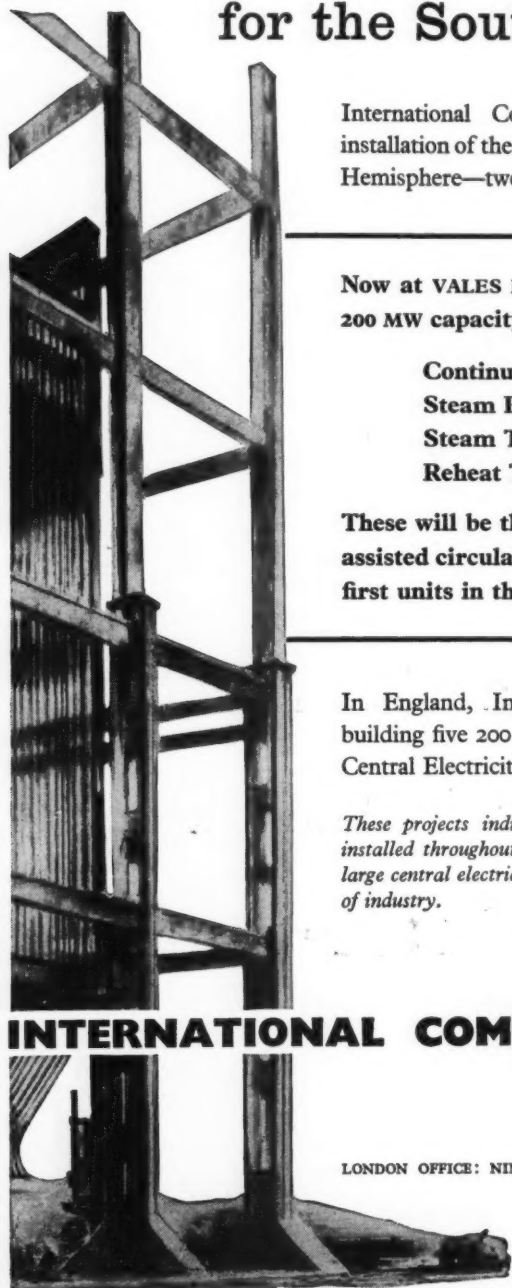




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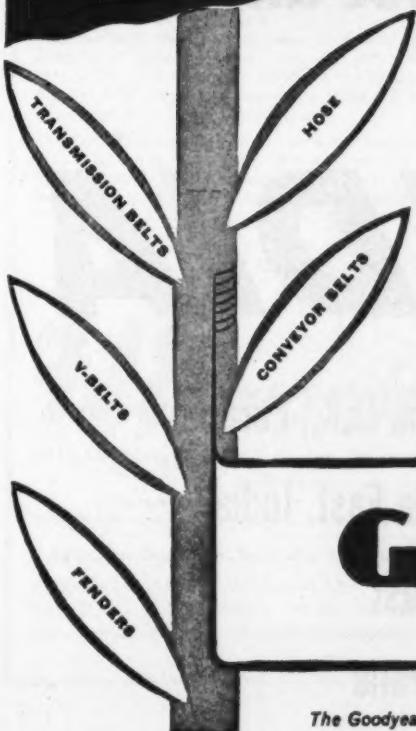
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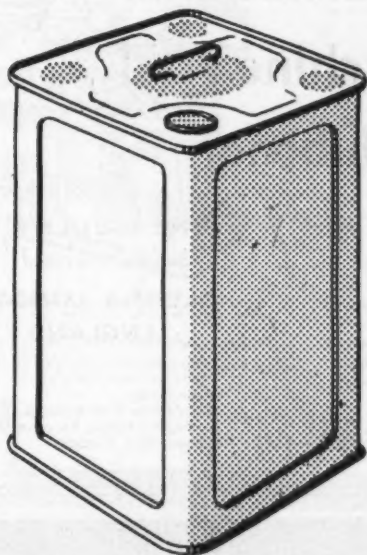


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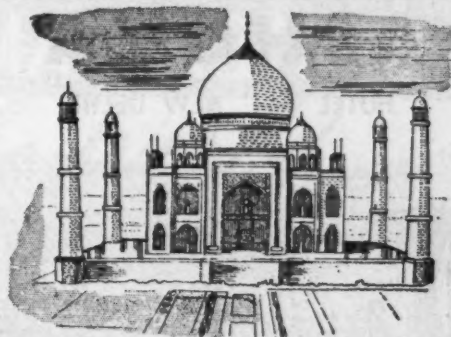
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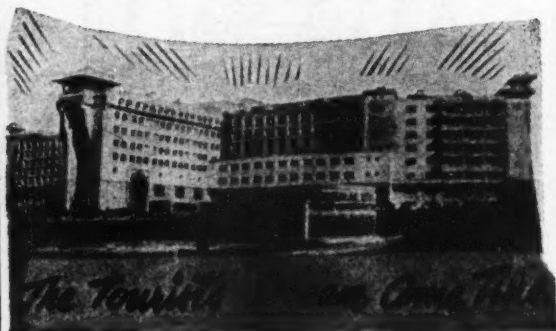
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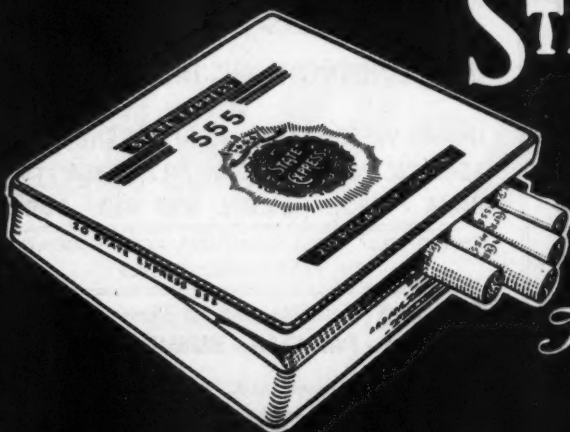
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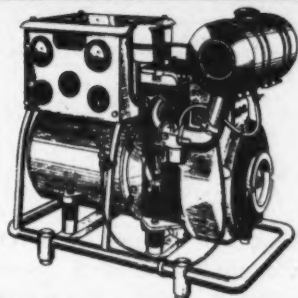
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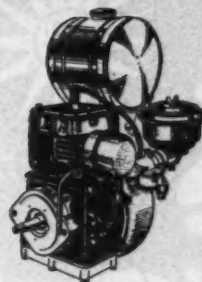
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# EASTERN WORLD

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## Mr. Khrushchev in Asia

ANOTHER journey this month by that inveterate Marco Polo Mr. Khrushchev will take him to Afghanistan, India, Burma and Indonesia on a mission of goodwill and friendship to neutralist Asian peoples that are already well-disposed towards Russia. They will shower him with demonstrative tokens of affection. The rest of the world, however, has its interest centred more on what may follow. Considerable technical and economic aid, an essential ingredient in Russia's present policy for the under-developed countries, will without doubt be easily arranged. Is anything beyond this envisaged in the tour, or will it emerge as a by-product with far-reaching repercussions in world politics?

Afghanistan's sole aim at present is quite obviously to move into modern times as an independent state. India, Burma and Indonesia have gone further. Though still enmeshed in a capitalist economy, they have declared themselves for an ultimate goal in Socialism. For this purpose, all four countries are eager to benefit from Russian aid to the utmost of their absorptive capacity. The Soviet Union for its own ends is ready to give as much as it can spare. Hence there is in the west a lurking fear that Afghanistan may become too dependant on the Soviet Union, and even that India, Burma and Indonesia will permit too great an economic penetration to the detriment of not only their own, but western interests as well. Yet in these countries themselves, neither the governments nor the chief political parties have any such fear. They feel confident that past experience with the western powers has taught them how to defend their hard-earned independence.

From the Soviet point of view, India and other Socialistically inclined Asian countries must appear the key in international relations, in the short as well as the long view. The American conception of this area is that of a cockpit in which the power blocs will fight with

the weapon of competitive economic aid to win the ideological allegiance of the under-developed countries, while the Russians see in it a means of trying a new pattern of social transformation for the non-Communist world. India is striving after her own fashion for a peaceful road to Socialism. Indonesia and Burma look hopefully towards an adventurous future.

President Voroshilov, accompanied by Vice-Premier F. R. Kozlov and Mrs. Y. A. Furtseva, Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, are certainly spending something more than bonhomie in their current visit to India. Indian commentators expect high-level talks on closer economic co-operation between the two countries. President Eisenhower in India last December was able to give a public pledge that he would campaign for private investment from his country in the private sector in India. Russian aid, of course, can come only from the Soviet state to the public sector in India. Kozlov and Furtseva are believed to have taken this matter further.

Mr. Khrushchev is certain to take it up again. The Soviet Government has repeatedly declared its desire to help India more than it has done so far, and Indians themselves believe Khrushchev is prepared to underwrite the foreign exchange complement of India's third five-year plan, the draft of which is now nearly complete. Indonesia, too, can expect spectacular technical and economic aid. Khrushchev will be able to tell Nehru and Sukarno that by the transfer of nearly one and a quarter million men from the armed forces to the factories, the Soviet Union will be in a stronger position to compete with the west. This Soviet economic challenge comes at a moment when the US, after a prolonged adverse balance of payments, has retrenched on its foreign spending.

The Asian governments can hardly fail to note the faster rate of growth of the Socialist economies. Even



the Americans now admit the feasibility of the Soviet aim to surpass America in production per head of population within the next ten years. The Soviet union has successfully checkmated western nuclear strategy and the cold war, and now challenges America to an economic contest in a field equally accessible to both sides. Both in and out of NATO, American spokesmen say they have taken up the challenge.

Khrushchev's Asian journey also demonstrates an emergence into liberalising tendencies, from which all the Communist states withdrew after the Hungarian rising of 1956. Evidently, too, it is possible for the Soviet Union and China to act independently of each other, with Khrushchev capable even of cultivating further Indian friendship in face of the Sino-Indian border dispute. The Soviet leader has a remarkable, free-wheeling style of

speech and manner, of which he made uninhibited use during his trip to the US last year. Asians will heartily approve the sound and sight of this kind of Communist leader.

A few dark shadows still remain in Khrushchev's path. The US and other western powers will not accept without a murmur the usurpation of their own positions of influence. The Asian governments that have opted for western alliance may feel sensitive about their own lack of prestige and the comparative stagnation of their economy. Diehard circles in the countries playing host to Khrushchev will try desperately to negate the pull of Soviet aid and example. Yet all this perhaps will count as small change to India, Burma and Indonesia by comparison with the vast benefits of their dealings with the Soviet Union.

## Comment

### Guided Democracy

**T**HE "Guided Democracy" of Indonesia seems to be a going concern. In lieu of a dictionary definition or the one put forward by its creator, Dr. Sukarno himself, some attempt must be made to understand it by studying its shape and content. Under it everyone, says Sukarno, "can advise, criticise and participate in policy-making and administration" of the country, and no Indonesian has disputed this. But no one, not even the military chief and Premier, Nasution, as he learnt at the cost of his power, will be allowed to impede "re-tooling for the future." Obviously it is no democracy on the western pattern, but equally clearly Sukarno's personal rule has the widest possible support in the country. The pro-Western, anti-Communist military leaders have been checked in the exercise of their power, and now accept the situation. The Indonesian Communist Party, best-organised and politically-minded of them all, is willing to give it a chance. On points, Sukarno's guided democracy in Indonesia will very probably score over de Gaulle's rule in France.

The Presidential decree of January 12 stipulates a Provisional People's Consultative Congress for three years, to be composed of Members of Parliament, 94 representatives of the regions, and 200 representatives of functional groups, such as the army, workers, farmers, youth, women, intellectuals, commercial interests, journalists, etc.

The decree also gives guidance on the reorganisation of political parties. They must all accept and defend the unitary state of Indonesia, contribute to the building of a just and prosperous society, apply peaceful and democratic methods,

exclude foreigners from membership, reject external aid in any form, and allow any Indonesian over 18 to join their parties.

By taking all power into his own hands, much as de Gaulle has done, Sukarno, for the time being at least, has halted the Rightists both in Indonesia and abroad. He has not permitted the Indonesian Communists to climb back into the administration, as in the past he often suggested doing. The Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio's amicable arrangement with Peking, however, over the question of the Chinese traders in rural Indonesia is undoubtedly a pointer to Sukarno's intentions. Greater emphasis on planning for industrialisation of the country is sure to follow Mr. Khrushchev's visit this month.

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## Nehru on Congress

**M**R. NEHRU won hands down in getting the annual session of the Indian National Congress to approve his foreign policy of non-alliance—which was, of course, neither unexpected nor spectacular. But to question, as many have done, the importance and vitality of Congress or the continuation of its rule in India, is an expression of purely personal frustration. Many in India and outside had hoped there would be a revolt against Nehru, against non-alliance, against China, and against a 3rd big Five-Year Plan. These people are dismayed and disappointed by its absence.

Nehru in a few sentences quashed the three musketeers who wanted Congress to give up its non-alignment policy: "I would rather see Congress dead and gone before such a voice be raised from this platform. It shows neither courage, determination nor faith in our people. . . . Whatever the consequences we will not have foreign armies on our soil."

Only a minimal knowledge is necessary of the mass struggle for independence still identified with the Congress movement to recognise that the use of the Congress name to cover acceptance of American protection in any guise would kill it stone dead. Perceptive Indians marvelled at the foolhardiness of the three Bengalees who ventured to make the proposal. Congress is by no means dying. It is, as the Working Committee itself has pointed out, dissatisfied with its own speed.

Sober, constructive ideas do not lend themselves to pyrotechnical oratory, and the session at Bangalore was chiefly concerned with the practical problems facing the country. The fact that there were no sharp attacks on China, and that Congress extended its support to Nehru's China policy, was a sign of its strength. It showed balance in congratulating both the great powers, America and Russia, on their endeavours to break through the barriers of the cold war, and hoped the proposed summit conference would be able to make substantial progress towards world peace and disarmament. It was a good Congress, fully entitled to the claim it made, that developments in international affairs "are in line with the policy of peace which India has pursued unwaveringly."

## A Welcomed Surprise

**I**F Mr. Herter's invitation to Peking to participate in disarmament talks has caused a sensation, this is not due to the originality of his proposal, but because it indicates some hope that American policy might finally catch up with reality. It is a pity that Mr. Herter felt himself compelled to add that—while simultaneously admitting that China was a major power—he could not couple his suggestion with an invitation for Peking to join the United Nations, undoubtedly American public opinion will still have to be prepared for such a step. Uninformed opinion has not yet caught up with informed opinion in America enough, to ensure in an election year that the *status quo* in their country's foreign policy is undesirable. However, since Mr. Herter's cautious statement on the Sino-Indian border dispute, it has become apparent that even the US will have to take into account the grow-

ing strength of China. It is more than probable that the State Department is fully aware of the folly of backing Chiang Kai-shek and that it would welcome a way out of the dilemma. The present proposals are a step in this direction and much will depend on Chinese skill to utilise it. Yet we cannot expect Peking to agree to the present suggestion merely because it happens to suit the West. The value of Mr. Herter's statement has been substantially diminished because of his qualifying remark. Mao Tse-tung is permitted to discuss whether or not hell should be let loose, yet but on any other but on this desperate subject, he is not considered good enough to mingle with the UN elite. One must reluctantly come to the conclusion that it does not seem expedient for American electioneering politicians to admit their mistake in keeping China out of international councils.

## The Year of Decision

**O**F the various major issues crying out for solution between the two power blocs this year, the American administration has declared itself unequivocally for only one. This is the challenge to peaceful economic competition. The US regards the challenge as one of economic aid to win the friendship and ideological allegiance of the under-developed countries, especially the uncommitted ones. This focussing of attention on an economic contest, however, calls for certain irreducible prerequisites, viz., a disarmament agreement, a solution of the Berlin question, and a formal declaration of peaceful co-existence. The East-West summit meeting to open in Paris on May 3 will discuss these questions, but there is still no indication that the West knows just how far it can go towards agreement. Against this background the Dillon plan to muster the surplus resources of the NATO countries and Japan to help the poorer ones is not really calculated to displace the cold war or the "deterrent" of military power.

An unprecedented series of top-level meetings has nonetheless been scheduled for the first half of this year. The leading *dramatis personae* are making a multiplicity of grand tours to various regions of the world. Prior to any formal consent the great powers are already half-committed to disarmament, an end to nuclear tests, and the manners of co-existence. In spite of some contrary currents, this all tends towards transforming the sixties into an era of competitive co-existence. When we add together Mr. Macmillan's tour of Africa, Eisenhower's visit to Latin America and later to Moscow, and Khrushchev's to Asia, the conference at the summit, that of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, and the unremitting efforts in Europe to keep the Six and Seven from splitting apart, we find them all signifying moves away from the cold war. They will all contribute towards building up an economic bulwark and competitive strength.

To the under-developed countries, particularly the leading uncommitted states of Asia, these tendencies cannot but be welcome. There is no reason why these states should not benefit from the rivalry of the great powers. Why should they be blamed for taking advantage of other people's quarrels? When the great ones fight with military arms and forces the small ones suffer. Even the cold war meant deprivation to the small nations, which were treated as pawns

rather than equals of independent status. If in the economic rivalry to follow, they gain the advantage of being courted with honourable offers of loans and technical aid, who is to cast the first stone?

For the more developed countries, there also has begun the first germination of a clearer understanding that to help the under-developed countries is a matter of urgent self-interest. Not only is it necessary as a diversion from the wasteful and unnerving cold war, but also, by raising living standards to comparable levels all over the world, it becomes a means of perpetuating peaceful industrial requirements. As the economic "war" is joined in earnest this concept is bound to force its way to the forefront, making both the giving and the taking of foreign aid a palatable, and even highly desirable, form of international co-operation.

## Asians into Africans

**S**UPERFICIALLY one would think that Asians and Africans would always find it to their advantage to make common cause. In practice things do not seem to work out that way, not even when both oppose what they still describe as white imperialism. At the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London during January and February, there was a feeling among the African elected members that the Asians were "sitting on the fence too much."

The Asians, on their side, to some extent share the fears of the white settlers that the complete independence demanded by the Africans will "swamp" them, though they are less ready than the whites to say so openly. Their argu-

ment is rather that they are being realistic, while the Africans tend to press forward too impatiently towards unqualified independence.

The fact is that bad feeling between Asians and Africans has spread from South Africa to the central and eastern territories, which can do neither side any good. In Nairobi district there have been deplorable outbreaks of violence in which Indians have been beaten up and even killed. However much one may recognise that the situation has grown out of mutual distrust and rivalries, not unencouraged by the whites into whose hands any such incidents are bound to play, the need remains for the leaders of both racial entities to restrain their more hot-headed followers.

Some of the African leaders, not least among the elected members at the London conference, are men of high statesmanship who may be expected to understand the need for restraint, but they feel strongly that it is up to the Indians to take a less equivocal stand. As a matter of fact there seems to be at least a section of Indian opinion in East Africa that is considerably ahead of the leaders. Letters have lately appeared in the Kenya press from Indian residents urging their leaders to adapt themselves to the idea of a future of complete independence for their country.

Indian opinion in India is almost wholly on the side of African demands, and Mr. Nehru himself has repeatedly enjoined African subjects of Indian stock not to obstruct African strivings, but to side with them. This attitude has not been lost on the Africans. The leader of the African delegation to the London conference, Mr. R. G. Ngala, has referred appreciatively to Nehru's attitude. As to any fears that African Asians (and that means preponderantly Indians) may harbour, Mr. Ngala reminds them of African willingness to guarantee full citizen's rights of equality to every individual. The British Government cannot indefinitely be looked to for security—real security ultimately lies solely in good relations between the races living together in Africa.

## Colombo Plan Anniversary

**W**HEN Mr. Ernest Bevin and his colleagues were the main initiators of the Colombo Plan in 1950, it was started as a purely Commonwealth concept and was confined to seven countries. When the Plan celebrated its tenth anniversary last month, the now nineteen members could proudly point out its singular success in international cooperation. The non-political aspect of the Colombo Plan, the collaboration in technical development and training of students and the achievement of projects such as the recently opened Indian steelworks at Durgapur do much to convince the members of the Plan as well as the outside world of its worth. Now that the primary battles have been won, the problem of increasing productivity to match the growth of population must be approached. This question, along with others, must be tackled on a long-term planning basis. Practical, adaptable objectives such as exist in the Colombo Plan must have substantial financial backing without any undue conditions attached to them. Up to now the success of the Plan has been due very largely to the lack of political or economic pressure on part of the donor states. This humanitarian international conscience with regard to underdeveloped countries in Asia represents one of the finest achievements since the war.

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# PROBLEMS OF INDIAN UNITY

SASADHAR SINHA

**T**HERE is no denying that, looking at the Indian scene, one is apt either to fasten exclusively on its disunity or to deny it altogether. That both these are lopsided, even exaggerated, views can be proved by a reference to history or simply to one's own personal experience. Racial origins, languages, religions and social customs of the Indian people are observable facts. It therefore serves no useful purpose to ignore the differences that exist between them or to minimise their significance. At the same time, it is equally true that the congeries of people who inhabit the Indian sub-continent share a way of life which is basically similar. Whether this can be uncritically called "fundamental unity" is, however, another matter. The tendency in the past was to make light of the prevailing tensions within the Indian body-politic. It was an understandable reaction when India was struggling for national liberation but its hangover still persists. Freedom is an emotional idea and all emotions are impatient with obstacles which block the path of their fulfilment. The unwillingness to face unpleasant facts cost India dear and the price she paid was the division of the country. Besides involving millions of people in unspeakable misery and suffering, it also left a legacy of instability to the succession States—India and Pakistan—which has never ceased to plague their existence from the day of their birth.

Everybody knows that Hindus and Muslims in the different parts of undivided India belonged, by and large, to the same racial stocks, spoke the same languages and shared similar social life. Nevertheless, when it came to a political settlement, their respective approach to it was at such variance that it could be achieved only by a complete break with the past. Ready-made explanations of the Hindu-Muslim problem is of little help, for they do not go to its root. Religious differences there have always been, of course, but by themselves they could never have led to the total estrangement between the two communities that actually took place. The underlying causes were more basic. Whatever the historical reasons, not even their centuries-old association affecting all aspects of life could induce Hindus and Muslims to accept one another as social equals. They never grew up as one community with common interests, common aspirations. The result was that, not being identical, their interests rapidly diverged with political exigencies in the modern period. Never having met on the same social plane, nor even partaking in common in the broad cultural and social amenities, Hindus and Muslims grew up as closed communities, hostile to one another in the assertion of their rights. The little personal or social contacts they had had in the past soon disappeared, political bargaining becoming instead the staple of their relations.

This is not the place to discuss the rights and wrongs of the final act that cut the Gordian knot. None the less, the outstanding fact remains that in spite of partition millions of Muslims continue to live in India and Hindus in Pakistan. A difficulty has been solved by rendering these important minorities politically innocuous, but social integration—a more fundamental task—is no nearer achievement. The problem of social adjustment exists in most countries in one form or another. What is, however, special in the Indian situation is that the existing divisions, instead of following predominantly racial lines, as in other countries, are based on religious affiliations. Furthermore, the hierarchical structure of the Hindu social system, as well as its extreme rigidity, provides added complications and, undoubtedly, it is this factor, more than anything else, which has made it difficult, if not impossible, for the different religious groups of

India to come closer together, socially and politically. Indian nationalism therefore has never grown into a unified idea but always bears the marks of conflict within itself.

Clearly, it is easier to find a solution for a problem which is external than for one which is of the very texture of one's social background. This was demonstrated most dramatically by what actually happened in 1947 when India's political future came to be decided. Partition did not solve India's major problem, that of the consolidation of the Hindus, the backbone of the Indian State. The caste system, in which one's status in society is determined by birth, is a subject of extreme complexity. It has come down as a special feature of Hindu social organisation from time immemorial. In the process of expanding, however, Hindu society long ago gave up the classical conception of the four castes and instead brought into existence hundreds of castes or sub-castes in order to accommodate the neophytes within its fold. The method of combining functional skill with new castes was a genial way of establishing social harmony by giving the newcomer an assured economic position within Hinduism, and this continued to hold the field as long as the economic basis of the Hindu social order remained stable. Hinduism thus achieved extension at the cost of inner cohesion.

What is important to bear in mind in this connection is that this flexibility of social organisation was a source of enormous strength to Hinduism, which enabled India successfully to withstand the effects of repeated invasions. In the past, all conquerors accepted the Hindu social order, which was in fact an economic order, and to this Indian civilisation owes its uninterrupted continuity up to recent times. The real break came with the British. In an unequal contest, the Indian economy went down before their superior industrial technique and organisation, with the result that the economic foundations of the caste system as it had developed historically were undermined beyond repair.

This did not, however, mean that the caste system showed any signs of disappearing. Indeed, it would have been unreasonable to expect it to do so. Social changes do not take place in this summary fashion. The symbols of social stratification persist long after their uses are gone. Moreover, it is in human nature to cling to them as a method of reinsurance, particularly when there is nothing else to fall back on. The ruin of the Indian craftsmen also meant increasing ruralisation, agriculture being the only means of escape from starvation for many of them. This, in turn, led to a further strengthening of caste ties. In Europe, industrialisation gave the *coup de grâce* to the remnants of feudalism; in India nothing similar happened to bring down the edifice of a rigid caste system.

How strong its hold is on the psychology of the people can be seen in current developments. It is common knowledge that caste consciousness has grown rapidly in recent years, largely to turn the present political opportunities to the advantage of the castes themselves. This was revealed most vividly, to the astonishment of observers, during the last general elections, when voting for Parliamentary seats took place in many parts of the country along strictly caste lines. Democracy is an inclusive idea which embraces the whole of society. In this sense, it is still in prospect and is not at present a reality in India. Indeed, the problem today is how to reconcile the vital elements of caste or group democracy—and there is a good deal of it within the castes themselves—with those of the modern political democracy of the West.

Although basically a device for social adjustment, the caste-



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system undoubtedly derives its main sanction from religion. This explains its emotional overtones, and also the reason why reforming zeal within Hinduism repeatedly failed to cope with its pertinacity. All such efforts have broken on the rock of religious fanaticism. This is plainly a case of mistaken identity, for the caste system has no real scriptural authority. It arose in response to certain social needs and having no further purpose to serve has now become an anachronism. Swami Vivekananda hit the nail on the head when he wrote some sixty years ago: "Beginning from Buddha to Ram Mohun Roy, every one made the mistake of holding caste to be a religious institution. But, in spite of all the ravings of the priests, caste is simply a crystallised social institution, which after doing its service is now filling the atmosphere of India with stench." The road to progress obviously lies in this realisation becoming more general.

Under the Indian Constitution, every Indian is equal before the law, irrespective of caste, creed or sex. This formal recognition of equality will no doubt be strengthened by the gradual extension of education among the masses, and exceptional individuals will thus be able to rise above their caste or class disabilities. But there is no room for undue optimism. Legislation and education, valuable as they are, are hardly likely to make any serious onslaught on an institution as well entrenched as the caste system. What is also disquieting is the fact that, under India's successive five-year plans, one of the principal aims is to keep the countryside, where the bulk of the people live, basically rural. It is not difficult to understand or even to sympathise with this desire, what with India's large population and the narrow scope industrialisation offers—but there is the danger that stability might be bought at too high a price. In the absence of social mobility, which industrialisation and urbanisation would have made possible, the social pattern will remain set in its old grooves. This aspect of the problem seems to have escaped attention.

Physical unification of India has been attempted again and again, but the credit for its final consummation must go to the

British. Territorial ambitions and regional rivalry have always been an unhappy feature of Indian history. Administrative integration has merely masked the gross features of this fissiparous tendency but never completely eliminated it. The periodic challenge to Indian unity has thus been a constant temptation to foreign invaders. When the Moghul Empire was in the final throes of decay, to take one instance, both the Mahrattas and the Sikhs had it within their power to unite India, but failed to do so because they placed their narrow interests before those of the country as a whole. The idea of a united India was foreign to them.

The current growth of regionalism in India, paradoxical as it may seem, is a direct concomitant of Indian freedom. Political power is for the first time a reality and the country's democratic system is an encouragement to every element in national life to aspire to it. Equally with the castes, the various regional aggregations, which often coincide with linguistic divisions, are also trying to claim for themselves, sometimes alone, sometimes in conjunction with others, a predominant share in the country's political life. Antagonism between the North and the South is the most obvious of these conflicts, but it exists in all parts of India, East, West, South and North. Some of these hatreds and antagonisms are inherited—fundamentally they are a legacy of unequal economic and political development—but in the last decade they have, without a doubt, grown in sharpness. The political division of India into linguistic states, the primary units of the federal structure, not always contrived wisely or justly, has furnished additional fuel to the fire.

The existence of a strong Central power was a prime condition of Indian political unity in the past. With its disappearance, the country fell apart, showing that the so-called "fundamental unity" was no guarantee against administrative disruption. India's present political leaders have obviously taken this lesson to heart and accordingly the tendency today is towards increasing centralisation of administrative powers. This is probably unavoidable in the circumstances, but it has certainly been responsible for a further accentuation of the regional tensions. These are at work both at the political and administrative levels. The politically ambitious now look to Delhi, the federal capital, for power and preference, and on the whole the key positions have so far gone to those parts of the country which hold in their favour the balance of power within the Congress Party, the ruling party. Federal administrative posts, on the other hand, are a constant bone of contention, and discrimination in appointments is a favourite subject of complaint. It is evident that the country's unity demands a broader basis and the achievement and maintenance of physical unity, however important, is not the whole story. In India, as elsewhere, a strong Central Government must reflect, in a fundamental sense, the strength of the base on which it stands, which is not the case at present.

Moreover, it is not often realised that India's economic planning itself suffers from certain inner contradictions. Its rural bias, for example, will, as discussed earlier, inevitably lend the country's caste structure a renewed lease of life, thereby making it impossible for Hindu society to rid itself of the canker at its very heart. The apprehension that the machinery of planning is not always used for its primary purposes but made to serve particularist ends cannot be ruled out offhand either. If this is so, then the economic inequalities between the states will continue to undermine the basis of Indian unity. The trend towards increasing centralisation has also been a source of friction between the federal and state authorities. This makes a strong case for a reversal or, at any rate, a slowing down of the process, for by depriving the states of initiative for action in vital fields the federal Centre would stand to lose.

The scope for governmental action in the social sphere is admittedly limited. Legislation and constitutional safeguards can deal with gross abuses and guarantee only the external condition for the exercise of equal citizenship. In this respect, a good deal has already been done, but, for understandable reasons, the more fundamental transformations must come from within the society



itself. In the field of social reform, contemporary India provides a sad contrast to the crusading zeal of the nineteenth century and the early years of the present one. The country then witnessed a succession of religious and social reformers whose activities were responsible for a great social awakening. It is unfortunate that, before their influence could be felt widely, they were overtaken by religious reaction, while the policy of religious neutrality on the part of the authorities of that day prevented them from giving active support to social reform. Today, although the conditions are far more favourable, the authorities are handicapped in the absence of a comparable urge for social change. Social legislation in a democratic society should mark the final

stage and not the beginning of social reform.

The challenge to Hindu society is clear and unmistakable. Its first task is to purge itself of internal divisions and the superstitious accretions of ages. It would then be able not only to furnish the social bedrock of Indian unity, but also to provide a bridge for mutual understanding and corporate living with the other religious communities of the country. India's future will be decided neither by the achievement of spectacular economic progress nor by administrative unity, but by the degree of her social cohesion. No doubt a hard lesson to learn, but what is the alternative?

## Japanese Agriculture and the Land Reform Act

ETHEL MANNIN

THE opening up of Japan to the West in the mid-nineteenth century, with the advent of Commodore Perry, after centuries of being a closed country, the "Land of the Gods," was not more of a revolution than the new regime instituted by the American Occupation in 1945. The reforms of the Meiji Era, which abolished centuries of feudalism, were drastic but gradual, carried out within a familiar framework. The new constitution drawn up by the Occupation in 1946, a little over a year after Japan had been defeated for the first time in its history, gave the country a completely new political and social system, a major feature of which was the abolition of large-scale landlordism and land-ownership.

At the time of the Meiji Restoration the territory of Japan was the same as it is today—the four main islands, Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Kochi, and a number of small islands; the population then was about half what it is today, but about eighty per cent. of it was engaged in agriculture. Today, with a population going on for ninety million, nearly half are engaged in agriculture. It is interesting that from the time of the Meiji Restoration—in 1868—until the end of World War II the number of farm households maintained a fairly constant figure of five and a half million. Today the number is estimated at something over six million. The increase is due to the migration to the country of people from bombed cities and also in part to the repatriation of more than five million Japanese nationals from former possessions, many of whom settled in the rural areas. Post-war industries, unable to maintain their former employment rate, also produced an exodus to the countryside. This increase in the farming population has tended to diminish further the always diminutive—"gardening"—scale of Japanese farming; the problem was always too many farmers and not enough land—and still is.

Before the war the farming system was the feudalistic one of big landowners and small—very small—tenant farmers. The situation was very similar to that which prevailed in England and Ireland at the time of the Agrarian Riots of 1818 and the Enclosures Acts and the Last Labourers' Revolt of 1830. There is the same story of impoverished tenants,

dispossession, insurrection. The Meiji Restoration which overthrew the feudal lords and the *samurai* merely passed control of the farm lands from the outgoing ruling class into the hands of big landowners; it did nothing for the wretched tenant farmer; it merely meant that instead of passing part of his crop direct to the feudal lord of the district or his retainers, it went to the newly-created landowners. This system—which also prevailed in India up to the time of Independence, the *zamindar* system—took as much as fifty or sixty percent. of the crop yields as rent-in-kind. The landlords controlled not only farm economy but also the administration of rural areas.

The Land Reform effected by the Occupation abolished all this. It gave eighty percent. of agricultural lands worked by tenants into their ownership, that is to say, some 4,900,000 acres out of 6,100,000 acres, leaving only twenty percent. of the former tenant holdings, the remaining 1,200,000 acres, as tenanted farm land. This was effected by the forcible purchase of farm lands at official prices and the resale of it to tenants at the same price. Due to inflation the tenant farmers were able to purchase the land they tilled with very little money. The landlords were paid in land certificates redeemable in cash by the government, but inflation so decreased the value of the bonds as to make the

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transfer of the land virtually confiscation, and to this day former landowners are still pressing unsatisfied claims.

Where land was still permitted to be rented it was made illegal to take payment or part payment in crops, and rents were regulated by law. The rents fixed were so low as to be almost valueless to the landowner; he could no longer live on earnings from tenanted land—the rentier was abolished at the stroke of the pen. These measures were carried out by farm land committees organised in different districts, and consisting of representatives of landowners, tenant-farmers and owner-farmers.

Absentee landlordism was automatically wiped out. The hardest hit were the small landlords; a number of these solved their problems by acquiring back some of their tenanted land and working it themselves. Some of the bigger landlords had held their lands since the feudal times of the Tokugawa Shogunate—that is to say, since the seventeenth century. No one, however, need weep for them, for their landlordism was merely a sideline to banking and industrial enterprise; many of them, also, owned vast forest lands which were not affected by the Land Reform, and timber fetched a good price. . . .

When all the undeniable reforms of the Land Reform Act have been taken into account the problem of too many people cultivating too little land still remains. Poor tenant farmers have been liberated from landlordism, but not from poverty. For that legislation could not provide. It could provide more people with a little land—an average of a little less than two acres, often only an acre and a half—as owner-farmers or as tenant farmers paying a nominal rent, but it could not solve the problem, the ancient problem, of how to extract a living by such small-scale farming.

Moreover the Land Reform actually created new problems. The first of these is that the forest lands were not liberated with the farm lands. The farmers had hitherto looked to the forests to provide them with fuel and with building materials; these are now denied them, along with the fallen leaves which are an essential ingredient for compost. (Chemical fertilisers are slowly finding their way into Japanese agricultural life, but the two-acre farmer cannot afford these artificial stimulants and still looks to his compost heap and any cattle he may possess to supply manure. Night-soil is also freely used, sometimes composted, but all too often wastefully and unhygienically—not to say odiferously—straight from the *obenjo*.) A farmer is fortunate if he finds himself in a part of the country where wooded areas are jointly owned by the village or hamlet; for the practice of common utilisation has existed since the time of the Tokugawas. Where no such village ownership exists the farmer is thrown back upon the landlord if he is a tenant, and has no solution to his problem if he is not.

The retention of tenanted farms, even though at nominal rents, is, moreover, out of keeping with the spirit of the Land Reform, the object of which was the liberation of the land and betterment of the lot of the peasantry. It means that a considerable number of farmers are still working land owned by others, and when access to forests and timber stands is only available through the landlord the very thing which the Land Reform Act sought to abolish, landlordism, is perpetuated and strengthened.

In an admirably concise paper submitted by a Japanese authority, Danno Nobuo, to the 12th Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held in Kyoto in the autumn of 1954, the writer points out that "although the land reform

did permit the tenants to acquire the land after which they clamoured, it will be necessary to follow up with measures to stabilise farm production, to develop improved methods of tillage, and to bring about betterment of rural committees and their welfare. It must be regretfully noted that at present no definite plans exist for consolidating the achievements of the land reform and to guide Japanese farming along the road to progress."

Nearly half of the farms in Japan are of one acre or less—it is difficult for the Western mind to conceive of farming in such terms. In the West of Ireland a poor farmer will have about ten or twelve acres of land and it is considered, and in fact is, subsistence farming. This "impoverished class", as these desperately poor Japanese farmers are called, gained very little from the Land Reform and present a serious problem in Japanese agriculture. It means that half of the farming population cannot live off the land and must sell their labour in other directions. In practice this usually works out as the men going off to work in the cities in industry and the women working the land. There are, in fact, about a million more women working on the land than men, mostly wives and daughters running small farms whilst husbands and sons commute to work in non-agricultural pursuits—often in the nearby factories. It has been suggested that it would be more correct to refer to Japanese "wifery" rather than "husbandry" . . .

This arrangement might be all very well but for the traditional inheritance of land by the eldest son; with such minute estate there is no place for any younger sons. This would not matter if they could be absorbed into industry, but this at present is impossible and the unemployed younger sons are thrown back on the land owned by their fathers or elder brothers with nothing whatever to do for a great part of the year. "They are symbolic of the diminutiveness of Japanese farm operations," says Danno Nobuo, "and at the same time constitute a unique feature of the unemployment problem."

In addition to rice Japanese agriculture produces wheat, fruit, vegetables. Cattle are not much in evidence—except in Hokkaido there is no grazing worth speaking of available for them; a cow or bullock is occasionally to be seen grazing a narrow strip of grass between the rice paddies and both are used for farm carts and for ploughing—when the farmer can afford such luxuries.

Danno Nobuo points out in his report that "there still remain considerable areas of forest lands and wilderness, which could be opened up for farming. Such developments tend to be neglected in Japan; and there is vast opportunity for developing livestock and dairy-farming facilities. This holds particularly true for northern Honshu and Hokkaido areas."

Unfortunately the people of the densely populated areas of Honshu do not care to move to northern Honshu and Hokkaido, where there is plenty of room for them. Northern Honshu is considered a backward farming area and one where the old ways of life prevail in general, and it is cold; Hokkaido is even colder, and it is "different"; Japanese people from Honshu visiting in Hokkaido say when they return home that they are glad to be back "in Japan" again, and, to tell the truth, Hokkaido is cold, and it is "different" and curiously un-Japanese, even for such a visiting foreigner as myself.

(To be continued)

# FIJI:

## Pivot of the Pacific

E. R. YARHAM

**T**HERE are many areas of the world where racial tension is acute, both in the British Commonwealth and outside it, but Fiji, with a very mixed population, is often quoted as a notable example of co-operation.

However, this very fact of harmony and toleration is raising its own difficulties, mainly due to the rapid expansion of population. The colony is faced with a number of problems, economic, industrial, and social, and the Burns Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Alan Burns (he was also chairman of the United Nations visiting mission to the Trust territories in the Pacific) is carrying out an enquiry in preparation for a report on conditions in the islands.

The commission's terms of reference are to examine the surveys of the colony's natural resources and population trends and, "having regard to the need to ensure the maintenance of a good standard of living for all sections of the community," will recommend how the development of the colony and its resources should proceed.

Too often a muzzy idea still persists as to what Fiji is like to-day. It is true that little over a century back the Fijians were cannibals; and even now a picture is still conjured up of the glamorous South Seas and grass-skirted maidens. It may come as something of a shock to learn that the Government has recently set up birth control clinics in the capital, Suva, a growing sophisticated city of about 35,000 people.

The Fijians have taken keenly to westernised sports such as football and cricket; there are numerous colleges and schools; and the wealthier classes send their sons to New Zealand public schools and British universities. In adult life the Fijians work as medical officers, nurses, and in many fields of industry and sociology. This rapid development has brought a number of problems in its train.

Ratu Cakobau, "King of Fiji," offered his country to Queen Victoria in 1874 on behalf of all the chiefs of Fiji, and on October 10 that year the deed of cession was signed. The stemming of the almost incessant native wars, and the establishment of peaceful conditions led to financial stability and increasing prosperity. Fiji became known as a peaceful country where racial troubles were almost non-existent, but those idyllic conditions have been gravely disturbed of late, with strikes or threat of strikes, and stormy political meetings.

The colony's chief financial problem is lack of money, and attempts to raise it by taxation have been meeting with resistance. Since 1945 the United Kingdom Government has granted £2m., but most of it has gone in public projects like hospitals, schools and roads, yet a tremendous amount

more remains to be done. The Europeans are protesting against increased taxation and rising costs; Fijians working in a town away from home are having their levy raised from £1 to £3, and say they cannot afford this; and recently the Fiji Sugar Industry's Employees' Association gave their president the power to call a strike at all the sugar mills in Fiji if the Colonial Sugar Refining Company "refused to agree to adequate increases in wages and better terms of employment."

The average weekly wage of a labourer is a few pence over £3, but unfortunately at this moment there is unemployment which will be worsened by the closing of a big sugar mill at Nausori, a dozen miles from Suva. The Government's watchword at the present is retrenchment, and hundreds of men have been laid off, but there is no relief for those out of work because there is no system of social security.

The social problems of the colony are due in a marked degree to the growing unbalance of the races. The population is now approximately 350,000, of whom half are Indians. The proportion of Indians is continually growing, and in a quarter of a century they have doubled their numbers, whereas the Fijians have increased by only about 50 per cent. They are a charming people, of fine physique and high intelligence, but happy-go-lucky and leisurely in their ways, and they contrast strongly with the thrustful, energetic Indians.

The problem of the Indians is perhaps the most knotty the Government has to solve. After the cession of the islands to Britain the white traders set up a sugar industry and, as the Fijians for the most part preferred to maintain their communal life, labour had to be sought elsewhere. During the last quarter of a century Indians began to arrive as indentured labourers to work in the cane fields. Many of the coolies chose to remain after the termination of their indentures, as they preferred Fiji to their homeland, finding conditions better.

In 1920 the indenture system was abolished, but by then there were many Indians who had known no other country. In 1937 they were granted equal elective representation with the Fijians and Europeans. They declare that now they are just as true natives of Fiji as the original Fijians, and want to be treated as equals. What is more, they are conscious of the power their growing numbers are giving them.





The Indians are land hungry, although it is true that of late years there has been a drift to the towns by both races, as in most other countries. The set-up has been that Europeans have provided capital for development, the Fijians have supplied the land, and the Indians the labour. The Fijians have been leaving the countryside because village life has palled by sameness and because of the greater amenities to be enjoyed in urban areas. The Indians have likewise been drawn by the prospect of more money and higher standards of living. Nevertheless, it remains true that a considerable body of Indians wants a greater share of the land, and is agitating for political reforms and wider political representation.

In addition, both Fijians and Indians who have received higher education overseas, feel insufficient scope is being

given to their talents in the higher administrative posts. Another grievance voiced by the Fijians is that, whereas Europeans and Indians have elected representatives in the Legislative Council, together with a proportion nominated, all their representatives are chosen for them at the annual Council of Chiefs. They assert they are now advanced enough to vote for their own nominees.

Britain wishes for a contented Fiji for a final vital reason. The archipelago is the most important land area in the Western Pacific. The capital Suva, on Viti Levu, is 1,150 miles from Auckland, just over 1,500 miles from Brisbane, and 1,750 miles from Sydney. No pacific group is so perfectly sited to act as a pivot as Fiji, and the briefest glance at the map reveals its outstanding strategic value in relation to Australia and New Zealand.



## Myth and Magic in Burma

FRANCIS STORY

**B**URMESE folklore abounds in myths, and many of them are still in the making. The mythopoeic mind, stimulated by the Burmese love of the marvellous and made fertile by an exuberant imagination, is still hard at work in modern Burma. The evolving pattern of Burmese legendary lore continually expands, but its general character changes little with the passing of time.

Weird and fantastic tales, some with a basis of truth in them, are born of the long monsoon days when work in the paddy fields is at a standstill, or evenings when the village elders get together over their pickled tea and cheroots, and they are passed from mouth to mouth with varying degrees of acceptance. Even the sophisticates of Rangoon do not entirely despise them.

It is possible to distinguish different classes of such myths; but myths of one class usually contain some elements belonging to the others. One important type of myth is that based on Buddhist traditions. This echoes incidents recorded in the Buddhist texts and commentaries with which most Burmans are familiar. A typical example occurred some time ago when the Rangoon newspapers reported that a man in the delta area had been seen physically transported to hell.

According to the newspaper accounts the man was pursuing his mother in an outburst of fury, with the clear intention of killing her. He had a dah, the Burmese broad, short-

bladed knife, in his hand, and as usual in such circumstances nobody thought it advisable to intervene. He was just on the point of catching up with the old lady when he suddenly starting sinking into the earth. His feet and ankles were sucked in as though by a quicksand, while at the same time the ground all round him for a distance of several feet became intensely hot, so that it was impossible to approach him. The report went on to say that the unfortunate man sank very slowly and it was three days before he was completely engulfed. He was fully conscious to the end, and screaming in agony.

This remarkable incident was vouched for by local eye-witnesses, but it occurred in an insurgent area and could not be officially investigated. A coroner's verdict on the man's death would have been interesting.

The background to this particular story is to be found in the Buddhist account of the fate of Devadatta, the renegade monk who tried to kill the Buddha. There it is stated that Devadatta was engulfed and taken bodily to hell—a reversal of the process by which certain people, notably the Virgin Mary and the prophet Elijah, are said to have been physically translated to heaven. In Buddhism, attempting to take the life of a Buddha and killing one's parents are among the four kinds of "weighty" evil deeds which produce immediate retribution. Normally it is assumed that rebirth in hell as

the result of one of these sins takes place after death, but the myth-making mind demands something more sensational.

Another type of myth is that which centres round magic and magicians. In Burma the Wizza, or thaumaturgist, is still a person of consequence and an object of fear. Like his almost extinct European counterpart (of whom, however, some modern specimens still survive) the Wizza practises necromancy and divination, casts horoscopes, provides magic philtres for success in love and business, and is credited with occult powers of enchantment, all of which he is prepared to exercise for a suitable fee. In addition to these arts he often practises indigenous medicine and alchemy. The word Wizza is not, as might be imagined, a corruption of "Wizard"; it is the Burmese pronunciation of the Pali word Vijja (Sanskrit, Vidya), "a wise man," recalling the Western name of "wise woman" for a witch.

Burmese thaumaturgy is a compound of East and West, sharing all the essential features of both. Through India it has drawn on Arabian sources, while from China it shows a strain of Taoist influence. The Arabian alchemist and the Taoist magician both sought the philosopher's stone and the elixir of immortality, and the Chinese "Immortals," the Hsein, are supposed to have discovered them. In Burma the search is still being carried on indefatigably both by Buddhist monks and laymen, and many have spent fortunes (sometimes their own) in a lifelong devotion to alchemical experiments. The influence of Buddhism shows itself in the belief that to attain magical powers it is not enough to seek them by physical means; the adept must also be possessed of Sila, or moral purity. Possibly that is why the quest has not yet been successful.

The alchemist usually lives the life of a hermit, on the outskirts of a village or in a monastery compound. He sometimes dresses in the rust-coloured robes of a yogi and wears a curious mitre-shaped hat, but nowadays many do not assume any distinctive dress. An alchemist in Rangoon whom the writer saw at work claimed that the hours he spent at his bellows constituted a form of Buddhist meditation, the concentration of mind on a particular object. This, however, was a decidedly unorthodox view, and obviously adopted to give a religious justification for his activities. He also claimed that he was able to make gold, but only in very small quantities. He demonstrated that he was able to calcinate pure gold into a fine white powder, an achievement which he said was beyond western metallurgists. The powder he mixed with honey and dispensed as a rejuvenating medicine. On trial it was found to be quite harmless.

In the oldest Buddhist texts the Buddha is found to declare that nothing can arrest the natural process of decay; it is inherent in all phenomena. This does not deter the Burmese philosopher, however, for he can always find in the later commentaries something to support his belief that man can be made immortal. The Wizza also claims that he can render the body immune to weapons of every kind. This is done by inserting small metal splinters, magically treated, under the skin. Fortified by this treatment the Burmese soldiers faced the British cannon in the days of King Thibaw, but its singular lack of efficacy has not prevented the belief from surviving to this day among the peasant class.

Some forms of Burmese magic are closely associated with Nat-worship. The Mount Popa district of Upper Burma has for centuries been a cult-centre for the worship of Nats, the indigenous spirits who occupy the place of Devatas, or tutelary deities in Burmese lore. The Nats are beings who when

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they lived on earth were outstanding personalities, kings, ministers or generals, some of whom are identified with actual historical figures of comparatively recent times. Conventionally they number thirty-seven, but there are minor local spirits who are also included in the pantheon. The Nats need not necessarily have been Buddhists in their lifetime; two of them are Moslems, and their Buddhist followers obey the Islamic rule to abstain from pork. Most Burmese homes have their Nat shrine in addition to one consecrated to the Buddha. Sometimes this takes the form of a miniature house, empty or containing an image of the Nat, either fixed to a tree or elevated on a pole outside the family dwelling. Professional Nat votaries, who are consulted to obtain the favour of these deities, often have portable Nat shrines of this kind on small handcarts which they propel from place to place. A certain street in Rangoon has a recognised parking place for these mobile spirit-houses when they are not in use.

One of the most characteristic institutions of Burma is the Nat-pwe. The word pwe denotes any kind of theatrical and musical entertainment, but the Nat-pwe is a special kind of function having the dual purpose of propitiating one or any number of the thirty-seven Devatas and obtaining their help and advice through the offices of a medium. It may be held by a family in honour of their particular Nat, or by a group of people belonging to the same village or quarter, who combine to bear the expenses of the entertainment.

Arrangements for the pwe are made by a class of women called Nat-ga-daw, who are professional “priestesses” of the Nats and are regarded as their wives. Many of these women are genuine psychic mediums, and the office they fill is something between that of the Western spiritualist medium and the Mongolian Shaman. Not all of them are women; as in the case of Mongolian Shamanism there are also men who are looked upon as wives of the Nats, and who act in the same mediumistic capacity.

There is nothing solemn or mysterious about a Nat-pwe. It is conducted in the full light of day to the accompaniment of eating, drinking and the cacophony of a Burmese orchestra playing *semper fortissimo*. All the people of the neighbourhood gather in front of the house and there is a continual coming and going of those within. While the Nat-ga-daws are preparing themselves, men and women devotees dance before the shrine, on which are laid out the various offerings to the Nats. These consist of flowers, fruit, coconuts, rice, cakes, betel and frequently liquor, for one of the Nats is very partial to a little alcoholic stimulant.

The Nat-ga-daw, dressed in special finery which she frequently changes in the course of her ritual, then takes her place in front of the shrine. She dances with jigging motions, eyes half closed, to induce the trance of possession. This may continue for some time, while she gradually assumes the personality of the Nat who is possessing her. When the metempsychosis is complete she demands the offerings in the voice of the Nat, and answers the questions put to him by the devotees. One of the Nats is a child, and speaks in a piping voice, making petulant gestures. To impersonate the military Nat the medium makes violent gestures with two swords, and when possessed by the bibulous Nat she is often seen to drink a whole bottle of whisky at a draught. Generally speaking, the male mediums give more lively and entertaining impersonations than the women. The most convincing Nat-pwe seen by the writer was one where all the active participants were men.

# ASIAN SURVEY

## NEW PARTY IN JAPAN

*From Stuart Griffin, Tokyo*

**T**OKYO—The new political party born of the Socialist Party breakup has already accomplished several things, even before its actual inception. It has spelled the virtual end to the nation's two-party system. It has provided a "Bull Moose" atmosphere where, with Socialists riven and confused, the way stands clear for further Liberal-Democratic Party (Conservative) gains and consolidation. And it has, by showing them for what they are, forced the former left-wingers of the Socialist Party out into the open, isolated them as near-fellow travellers if not actual Communist Party sideline affiliates.

Emergence of a strong 50-man Right Wing Socialist Party group under the leadership of silver-haired Suehiro Nishio is expected to go through without a hitch, and perhaps attract more dissidents into its rebellious ranks than hitherto had been thought possible.

Nishio is a true "stormy petrel" of Japanese politics, having been expelled both pre-war and post-war for utterances that were at least vivid. The left has long hated and feared him, for he is opposed to the party's principle to promote class campaigns, has criticised the current campaign against the US-Japan Security Treaty, has supported labour unions in open defiance to Sohyo, the most powerful (and left wing of all trade union groups), and has assailed the Communist tint to left-wing Socialist policies and leaders alike.

The move to secede from "main-stream" Socialist ranks, to employ the usual Japanese political figure of speech, came first in Nara, an old feudal capital, last October 19. At that time, or soon afterwards, Mr. Nishio became the obvious leader-spokesman for a total of 33 dissident Socialists and commenced his talks with the Socialist Club, a middle-of-the-road Socialist faction headed by Jotaro Kawakami, a man who has temporised much in the past with the big bosses of the Japan Socialist Party, left-wing elements like Mosaburo Suzuki Secretary-General Inejiro Asanuma and the triumvirate of Sohyo, Minoru Takano, Akira Iwai and Kaoru Ohta.

The new split has already appeared to the "egg-head" or scholar element of Japanese society, to university presidents like Masamichi Royama Teiji Yabe, and Tatsuo Morito. Supported by such high-light figures of the "renovationist forces," to employ another Japanese political term, as Yoshihiko Seki, professor of the Metropolitan University, Masamichi Inoki, Kyoto University professor, Kikuo Nakamura, Keio University professor, and Kosaku Wada, head of the Fabian Association, as well as such political figures as Socialist elders Chosaburo Mizutani, Ushiro Ito, Hiroo Wada, Hitoshi Imamura, Eki Sone, Chonen Mukai, Mrs. Tsuruyo Tsutsumi, and Ryoza Kato, it intends to be known, in all likelihood, as the "Democratic Socialist Party."

Despite the break-up in the ranks, the new Party will show no change in the basic Socialist policy to (1) maintain neutrality in foreign relations; (2) oppose the Security Pact with America; (3) recover diplomatic relations with Communist China; and (4) destroy the Kishi leadership and beat the Conservatives at the polls.

But the salient point of the new Party will be its policy of gaining the support of so-called "middle of the road classes"—small and medium businessmen, farmers and fishermen, people dissatisfied with policies of the Liberal-Democrats and the Socialists alike.

The 770,000-member Japan Trade Union Congress (the Zenro) is playing a key role in founding the new party, primarily to stem the development of its rival union, the Sohyo, the General Council of Japan Trade Unions which, with a backing of 3,510,000, follows or rather guides the Socialist platform and policies. But since the new party has charged the political domination of Sohyo over the Party from which it secedes, Zenro stays in the background, lest a charge of political machinations be raised against it too.

The split, while regarded as a stinging blow to the Socialist Party, is nonetheless termed "inevitable." It is the outcome of a long-pending struggle between Marxist forces and upholders of the parliamentary system within the party.

There are two examples in the past in which prominent Socialists left the party: the 1948 secession of Prime Minister Tetsu Katayama's Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Rikizo Hirano, who walked out to found a 16-member Renovation Party, which fizzled at the very next general election, and the leftist dissident secession of the same year led by Hisao Kuroda, who formed the Labour-Farmer Party, which was disbanded and merged with the Socialist Party again in 1957, after a devastating defeat at the polls in which even Kuroda was worsted.

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— Under new Editorship from November, 1958 —

Is a similar fate in store for Mr. Nishio? It is not as likely, at any rate. He has a solid bloc in both Upper and Lower Houses. He has the full support of a powerful Zenro. He has the quickened ear of small businessmen, some farm and fishing groups, and certain segments even of the Conservative Party which see through him a way to entrench their own power. A spokesman of the influential Federation of Economic Organisations, the Keidanren, is "100 per cent. behind the new party" to the extent that it will offer "spiritual if not material support."

Nishio, an old-line Socialist, is known for his advocacy of a transformation of the Socialist Party into one with the support of the masses, not one narrowly restricted to the interests of the industrial workers. He has distinguished himself as a labour leader and, in fact, still considers himself a working-class man. He has said bluntly that it was "time to bid farewell to pro-Communist forces in the Socialist Party" and to "build a new party, dedicated to true sense Socialism, which is for the betterment of all working people and strongly standing against extremist activities, whether from left or from right."

This "farewell declaration" thus completed the split in the Socialist Party some four years after its reunification.

The new party, co-operating with the Socialist Party on only a case-by-case basis, will be neutralist, neither pro-Communist nor anti-American. It advocates resumed China trade, amicable settlement of the Formosan issue, and is opposed to any constitutional amendments of the "No-War" clause.

It is against Japanese rearmament but also against violence in opposing it in the National Diet.

Mr. Nishio has been dubbed "the eye of the typhoon" and the "time-bomb" of Japanese politics, an honour he shares with that arch-Conservative, kingmaker, and would-be Premier, Mr. Ichiro Kono, the once powerful chief of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the head of the Economic Planning Board.

Nishio is known far and wide as a "strong man," opinionated, impassioned, dedicated, and little of a compromiser. Advocate of a "piecemeal revolution" brought about in a democratic, parliamentary manner, he has long plumped for the party to "cast off its present bright red colours" and "get down to business with the right kind of people, patriotic Japanese Socialists, not foreign-minded Communists."

Like Kono, Nishio has the reputation of being "the most terrible foe to deal with but the strongest ally to have." Both have been tarred with suspicion of scandal, Nishio with the Showa Denko (chemical fertiliser firm) bribery case. But it is felt that Nishio was framed; and then allowed to go free, a scarred man.

Still Nishio showed great resiliency. He bounced right back to the top again. He has been his old party's secretary-general, and he may be president of the new party he is on the verge of forming. He spent ten years in painful political eclipse after the fall of the Katayama coalition cabinet, and his own involvement with Showa Denko, but now he is kingpin again, in a new Socialist movement.

The left-wingers mock him. They call him a man "of sand, easy to spill away; a man of glass, easy to see through." But obviously they are alarmed over the number he took into secession with him, and more, over the potential number who may break away—later—to follow him.

Suffice to say this on the eve of the new group's formulation. Suehiro Nishio, a man who refused to be silenced, has done three mighty things: he has broken the two-party system, and he may even keep it broken; he has caused fright and dismay in a Socialist Party nakedly exposed now as being left-wing, and left-wing alone, and he has set up ripples of joy in the Conservative factions, for any diminution of the renovationist forces is automatically an advance for the party in power.

What his future will be it is yet too early to say. But those that know this strange, oddly cold, yet somehow appealing man best, claim that he has a future, and very possibly a very bright one.

## Indonesia

### Presidential Rule

*From a Correspondent in Jakarta*

The Minister of Defence, Lieutenant-General Nasution, at a reception given in his honour by the foreign Press in Djakarta, spoke of the decisive events which took place in Indonesia during 1959.

He considered that the three events of great significance to the further development of the country were: (1) the return to the Constitution of 1945; (2) the participation of the Army in various executive and legislative fields; (3) the issuance by the President of his Political Manifesto, which



served as the line of guidance for the policy of the State in the various phases of the national revolution.

In 1959, Lieutenant-General Nasution said, the Government made every effort to restore to normal the situation in the country, which during the preceding few years had deteriorated politically, socially, economically and in the military field. The concept of democracy which had been applied in the past had proved to be inconsistent with the age-old identity of the Indonesian people.

Speaking of the abuses of liberal democracy and referring to what President Sukarno had said on this subject, Lieutenant-General Nasution pointed to the fact that such democracy in Indonesia had been characterised by the opposition of one group against another, by the improper ousting from office of one by another, and by the exploitation of each other in the economic field. This had all happened in the Republic under the pretext of democracy. Military commanders had also violated the norms of good military behaviour with the excuse of freedom of speech, of democracy. The Press had confused public opinion by reports giving a distorted picture of the real facts.

The General emphatically stated that he was not against democracy, but that he deeply abhorred improper actions under the cloak of democracy. He said he regarded the abuses of democracy in Indonesia as the very source of the misfortune befalling the country over the recent period. It was for this reason that Indonesia was now determined to replace the misinterpretations of democracy by a system which was consistent with the identity of her people, namely, democracy characterised by consultations and the principle of mutual assistance.

At a reception held in the State Palace on January 1st, President Sukarno in his New Year message reminded the people that they should by no means expect to complete the national revolution by accepting foreign aid. No revolution could be accomplished without the practice of self-reliance by the people themselves. He said that Indonesia was grateful for the aid rendered by foreign countries, but she must remain upright through her own strength. The last decade had sometimes been called "the fearful 'fifties'," since in no other period of human history had mankind faced greater perils—perils which were man-made. However, no other decade had ever opened wider vistas or given such hopes to mankind. In looking back over the past ten years, the good had vastly outweighed the evil.

The President, in a letter to Parliament in connection with the wishes voiced by several members seeking an explanation of the validity and authority of the Presidential decrees, regulations and decisions issued up to the present, stated that he reserved the right to govern the country by decree even if this procedure was not provided for in the Constitution of 1945.

If, the President continued, he was entitled to decree the re-enactment of the 1945 Constitution, he was also authorised to issue decrees regulating those matters which were inherent in, and closely connected with, the extraordinary measures. This exercise of power, he said, would be terminated as soon as the People's Consultative Congress, provided for in the 1945 Constitution, had been formed. Eventually, on January the 12th, President Sukarno took full control of all Indonesia's political parties, giving himself the power to dissolve them whenever he thinks necessary.

He also announced the formation of a new political organisation, to be headed by himself and called the National

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Front, and of a supreme State body to which he will be responsible called the People's Congress. The congress will be composed of elected representatives of provinces, present members of Parliament, and members of "functional groups" nominated by himself.

President Sukarno called on every Indonesian citizen to become a member of the National Front in order to: (1) complete the national revolution in Indonesia; (2) achieve a just and prosperous society through universal development and construction; (3) bring West Irian (West New Guinea) into the Indonesian Republic.

The President's decrees put an end to the "free-fight liberalism" he has often condemned as unsuitable for Indonesia.

The first decree hits hard at three of Indonesia's main political parties—the Muslim Masjumi Party, which was involved in the 1958 rebellion in Sumatra, the Communists, and the Muslim Nahdatul Ulama. Only the moderate Indonesian National Party is likely to be unaffected.

The Presidential announcement said that political parties in Indonesia would not be allowed to receive any form of foreign aid without the permission of the Government. They must also not enrol aliens as members.

## Australia

### West Irian Case

*From Charles Meeking, Canberra*

In Indonesia in December the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. R. G. Menzies, tried to persuade President Sukarno to submit the West Irian dispute to the International Court of Justice. In Canberra the Attorney-General, Sir Garfield Barwick, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, has been advancing arguments for the same course.

Holland, already willing to do so, has subsequently asked Indonesia to accept the Court's jurisdiction on other disputed matters affecting Dutch interests. Australia's own experience with the Court over a dispute with Japan concerning pearling on the continental shelf, however, seems hardly likely to persuade the Indonesians to modify their attitude. The dispute, still unheard, was referred to the Court in 1953!

Sir Garfield Barwick now says the disagreement with Japan may be settled by diplomatic rather than legal processes—which may disappoint a great many countries, including those with offshore oil and fisheries interests, which have been awaiting the outcome. The extraordinary delay, so far not explained, could well be one of the reasons why Indonesia has never agreed to accept the Court's jurisdiction.

Several years ago it was indicated that Indonesia doubted if it would receive impartial justice at the hands of the Court. Those doubts are believed to have been strengthened by the appointment to the Court in 1957 of Sir Percy Spender, a former Australian and for some years the Australian representative at United Nations. In this latter capacity, Sir Percy, speaking, of course, for Australia, was strongly critical of the Indonesian claim to West Irian.

Sir Garfield has recently used the West Irian issue as an illustration of the fact that the short title of "World Court" conveys a misleading impression of the role the Court is now able to play in international affairs. Litigants before the

Court, he has pointed out, must be sovereign States, and the Court cannot become seized of a particular matter without the consent of the States concerned—and in all, only 37 States have lodged declarations accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction.

"At present," he says, "the Netherlands could not as a plaintiff institute proceedings against Indonesia as a defendant, and the Court would lack jurisdiction unless the parties were to join in a mutual approach to it."

"Consequently, a dispute, which insofar as it is a dispute as to sovereignty, because the interpretation of international legal instruments is involved, appears admirably suited for judicial consideration, stands for the present outside the Court's authority."

There, indeed, it seems likely to stand for all time. Perhaps both Australia and Holland will soon recognise that Indonesia's strongest case is moral rather than legal, and that its stand against what it regards as a remnant of colonialism and a perpetual menace to Indonesian security is backed by practically the whole of Asia—where Australia today desperately needs friends.

It may be that Mr. Menzies is going to use his good offices to persuade the Dutch to resume peaceful and unforced negotiations, in spite of what Australia, through Sir Percy Spender, said some years ago.

Such a course might prove fruitful for all concerned. It might lead to a settlement with the Dutch which would pave the way to resumption of Dutch enterprise in the Indies, and to agreement with Australia to join in mutual defence against aggression from China or elsewhere. These things are still possible. They may not be practicable in a few years' time.

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This is a personal account of a "teak wallah" in the jungles of Siam. No forest could be utilised as far as the teak industry is concerned without the Indian working elephant, and this is a most interesting story of the author's seven years with them. Elephant, workmen and riders under the direction of "teak wallahs," move thousands of tons of teak every year from the northern hills, and areas are worked for hundreds of miles down sidestreams and rivers to the rafting regions on the central lowland plains of Siam.

There are stories of armed attacks by thieves, of hillmen using crossbows and poisoned arrows, of tiger attacks, of opium addicts and of "musth" elephants. There is in fact everything that one has learnt to expect from the wild and inaccessible jungle and yet every encounter with it, no matter how often recorded, still remains fascinating, and such is the charm of this book.

**Man-Eaters and Memories** by J. E. CARRINGTON TURNER (*Robert Hale, 18s.*).

Any Indian Forestry Officer has always to be prepared to do extensive travelling in remote areas. Mr. Carrington Turner was for thirty years an officer in this service, some of it in the Kumaon Himalaya. It is therefore of little wonder that his book contains many thrilling and amusing exploits. From time to time he was called upon to protect unarmed peasants from man-eating tigers, leopards and sloth-bears. Much of the excitement of this book comes from the awareness of the havoc and the terror that these animals can bring to the villages in these jungle areas and of the skill, patience and courage needed to track them down and finally destroy them.

It was also in his line of duty to protect the forest regions under his management and to protect game from the depredation of lawless men. All in all, this book is a thrilling recollection of memories and man-eaters.

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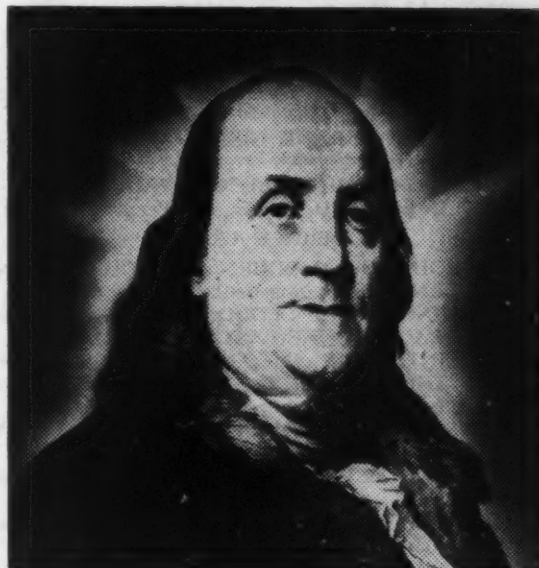
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 POET, *by* ARTHUR WALEY  
 SSU-MA CH'EN: GRAND HISTORIAN OF CHINA, *by*  
 BURTON WATSON  
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 BHARATI IN ENGLISH VERSE, *by* S. PREMA

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## Economics and Trade

# U.K.-INDIA ECONOMIC RELATIONS

*By A Special Correspondent*

**T**HE financing of the economic development of India and of the execution of the country's economic plans is a formidable problem for which there is no ready-made recipe in the textbooks of democratic countries. The Indian authorities rely on the hope that a certain part of the required foreign exchange is to continue to come from abroad, and that the international agencies which were founded to assist the economic development of underdeveloped countries will continue to contribute funds to India.

Lately the international climate for financial assistance to India has improved and there is a trend of growing recognition for the necessity that India's economic plans should succeed. It is to be hoped that this recognition will lead to actual deeds without a long delay, and that sufficient funds of foreign exchange will be placed at the disposal of the Indian authorities for the individual development as well as for general development purposes. The recently published 1958-59 report issued by the Colombo Consultative Committee, stated that the outlook for India in the economic sphere as a whole had shown distinct improvement. According to this report the major factors for the improvement were a substantial increase in agricultural production, larger output of industrial goods, and a bigger flow of assistance from abroad. Agricultural output rose by about 14 percent over that of the previous year, and food production increased from 62.5 million tons in 1957-58 to 73.5 million tons last year. Industrial production increased faster during 1958-59 than in previous years, and there were sizeable additions to production capacity in a large number of industries. The report added that continuous effort will be required to increase production and promote savings.

British industrial and commercial circles have confidence in India, which finds its expression in an increasing number of UK companies which, in cooperation with Indian firms, establish manufacturing facilities in India. UK firms of the chemical, engineering and other industries participate in the establishing of factories in India by supplying part of the required capital and the "know how" as well as by training Indian technicians. Some of these joint enterprises already contribute to India's increased production, others are being built and equipped and will gradually come into operation and will increase the industrial potential of India. It is estimated that by the end of 1956, UK investments in India amounted to over Rs. 4,300 million (about £320 million), and thus had doubled during the past 12 years.

Mr. C. J. M. Alport, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, after his visit to India last month, said that India's next 5-Year Plan would provide considerable scope for the private sector in light industries. This means that additional possibilities for private investments would be available.

British industry has also contributed to the development of a

number of industrial units in India's public sector. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, which have celebrated their first ten years of continuous development recently (the works were opened on January 26, 1956), have benefitted from the agreement with a British manufacturing company which had supplied the "know how." During the past 10 years over 950 steam locomotives have been built at Chittaranjan, and by the end of this year these works will start building electric locomotives. To meet the special requirements of the railways, a steel foundry is being set up in Chittaranjan—in collaboration with a British firm.

There are many other examples of UK firms assisting the development of projects in the public sector, the most spectacular of which is the building of the steelworks at Durgapur (see January issue of EASTERN WORLD). Mr. Alport said at the opening ceremony of the Durgapur steelworks that "we regard our part in the creation of Durgapur as a contribution to the new

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India, but more than that, it is an example of cooperation within the Commonwealth." At present further negotiations between UK leading engineering firms on participation in developing industrial units in the public sector are in progress.

In the field of exchange of goods between Britain and India, UK imports from India amounted to about £125 million during the first 11 months of 1959. UK exports to India reached the value of £157.8 million during the first 11 months of 1959 as against £146.3 million during the corresponding period of 1958. The 1959 exports included machinery (other than electric) to the value of £50 million, electric machinery—£19 million, iron and steel—£12 million, chemicals—£14 million. It is fully realised by UK manufacturers that the economic development of India will create possibilities for a further extension of trade with that country even if certain changes in the types of goods to be exported are bound to occur.

The working committee of the Congress Party submitted to Bangalore convention of the Indian Congress in January a draft resolution which stated that the rate of achieved economic progress was not fast enough. The criticism that the Congress Party had failed to organise mass actions in favour of the Plan was voiced by Mr. S. N. Mishra, Deputy Minister of Planning.

It is clear that the implementation of the economic plans faces two problems which—for simplicity reasons—could be summarised as follows: an internal problem—mobilisation of Indian masses and the arousing of their enthusiasm for the economic development plans; an external problem—securing of the required funds of foreign exchange from abroad.

In the West there are certain tendencies to achieve a better coordination in the aid to underdeveloped countries, and it was decided at the January meeting of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation in Paris, to set up a group for this purpose consisting of the UK, US, Canada, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Portugal and a representative of the Common Market. It is envisaged that this group will cooperate with the World Bank and also invite other countries to cooperate. While India has a good case, there is always the danger that representatives of Common Market countries will press the claim of the overseas areas of their members to secure priority treatment. The United States have been urging for some time West Germany to increase her allocations for aid to underdeveloped countries. Recently the West German Government has taken a number of measures to promote exports to those areas.

It is reported that India may receive credits of about £18 million in connection with her Second 5-Year Plan from a newly established fund. It is also intended to raise the German guarantee fund to about £400 million. This fund was created to finance long-term credits, particularly as the German Hermes export credit organisation was not allowed to grant guarantees for longer than five years (in accordance with the Berne convention). Many German industrialists have misgivings about the Common Market as they are anxious to develop their exports to all regions of the world, and they realise the importance of underdeveloped countries and of the fact that long-term credit facilities are essential in order to increase their sales to these markets.

In the case of Britain, there are special responsibilities in assisting India's economic progress, namely, to use the words of Mr. Alport, "cooperation within the Commonwealth." However, while there is an appreciation of the necessity to assist India and the wish to do so, the question of how to find the required funds remains unsolved. A certain relaxation in international tension which took place during the last few months led the Norwegian Prime Minister, Mr. E. Gerhardsen, to link the forthcoming disarmament talks with the question of assistance to underdeveloped countries. The Prime Minister said in his New Year's message that a solution of the disarmament problem

would make such aid possible on a much greater scale, and he added that the development in these areas during the next decade will be decisive for the political status of the world. Mr. Gerhardsen declared that it would be a tragedy if the democratic countries were compelled to neglect this task because of vast amounts spent on armament. In Britain, Lord Boyd-Orr has been advocating for a long time an international agreement on disarmament, with the resulting savings to be used for assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

## Australians Ignorant of Britain

SIR NORMAN KIPPING, Director-General of the Federation of British Industries, said upon his return from a visit to Australia that he was struck by the general ignorance in that country about Britain and Britain's technological achievements. This situation prevailed despite the fact that about 500 UK manufacturers had established industrial subsidiaries in Australia, and that two-thirds of all foreign investments in Australia came from Britain.

According to Australian statistics, the UK share of Australia's total imports during the twelve-months period ended on June 30, 1959, accounted for 38.5 percent and amounted to £A307.5 million (global imports during that period were valued at £A796.7 million). From the UK point of view Australia was the second biggest market in the world and British exports to Australia amounted to £202 million during the first 11 months of 1959. This figure becomes even more impressive if one takes into account the comparatively small population of Australia.

Sir Norman was very impressed by the prosperity and high rate of investment in Australia. In connection with the development of secondary industries Australian factories, including those of the UK subsidiary companies, were looking to the building up of their exports, particularly to countries of South-East Asia and the Pacific due to Australia's geographical position. Australia produced the cheapest steel in the world, and her industries could be highly competitive. However, Sir Norman saw a certain threat to Australian industries' competitive power in the recurrence of inflationary tendencies in Australia. He has also expressed some concern about the inter-State rivalry in Australia which often compelled the manufacturers to disperse their production units. This dispersion may have had even some advantages as long as they supplied the Australian home-market (particularly as the transport costs within the country were very high) but represented a serious obstacle when a manufacturer embarked on export activities.



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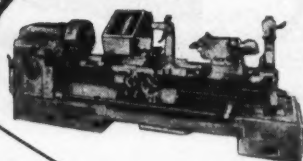
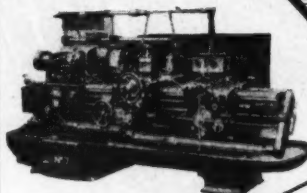
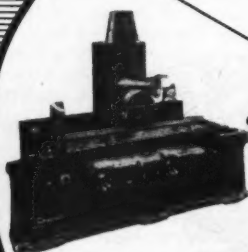
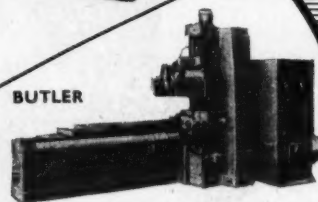
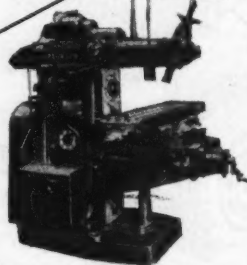
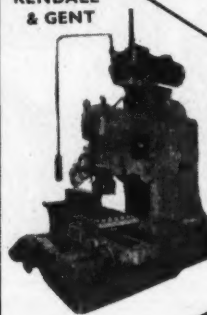
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## Two Industrialists visit India

LORD CHANDOS

**M**R. MANUBHAI SHAH, India's Minister for Industries, presided at the ceremony, when the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. H. V. Pataskar, installed the first machine tool at the heavy electrical plant which is under construction near Bhopal. The Minister emphasised the fact that this project had been given the highest priority in the Plan, and added that it was proposed to step up the production capacity of this plant to Rs. 500 million (£37.5 million) annually by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan. Both the Minister and the Governor welcomed Lord Chandos, who attended the ceremony, and Mr. Pataskar paid tribute to the wholehearted cooperation which has been extended by Lord Chandos and Britain in the construction of this plant, which was evident proof of the cooperative attitude of Britain towards India.

Lord Chandos is the Chairman of the Associated Electrical Industries Ltd., the consultants to the Government of India for this project. The first phase of this project covered the manufacture of transformers, switchgear, control gear and capacitors. However, it has now been decided to push ahead with the complete project, giving priority to the manufacture of electric traction equipment, water turbines and generators.

While AEI were not financing the project, the Company was hoping to arrange credit facilities with British banks for equipment purchased in Britain. AEI has also negotiated subsidiary consultancy agreements in connection with this project and English Electric Company Ltd. was chosen for the manufacture of water turbines, and BICC for manufacture of capacitors.

The training scheme was a basic part of the project, and at present 130 Indian technicians of senior status are undergoing special training (mostly on a three-year basis) at AEI factories in the UK. A training centre at Bhopal started operating last year, and at present 1,800 men are being trained there in two shifts in order to ensure that sufficient skilled labour will be available when the factory goes into production.

HERR KRUPP

Herr Alfred Krupp and the Austrian Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Pittermann, attended the ceremony when Sardar Swaraj Singh, India's Minister for Steel, formally inaugurated on 12th January the Rourkela's steel plant's steel melting shop and commissioned the LD (Linz Danawitz) plant. The LD plant (erected by the Austrian company VOEST), which is the first of its kind in Asia excluding Japan, is a part of the Rourkela integrated iron and steel works by the West German consortium, Indiangemeinschaft Krupp-Demag GmbH, and for which 36 German firms are supplying machinery and equipment. According to the New Delhi correspondent of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* there is a general opinion in Delhi that "if Krupp himself comes to India—then he means business." In the meantime, Herr Krupp has told the press that the West German industries would like to assist India's development plans by supplying the required plants, but that the available capital for investments was not large.

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# HONG KONG'S EXPORT WORRIES

*From A Correspondent in Hong Kong*

**H**AVING adhered to the Western restrictions in trade with China (a particularly painful process for the Crown Colony's traditional economic activities), and having successfully replaced to a great extent the entrepot activities by building-up various manufacturing industries, the Colony finds that restrictive policies are applied to Hong Kong-made products in the main markets. Cynics here say that the West does not appreciate the Colony's problems due to the fact that there is no Communist threat to Hong Kong, and that the West would otherwise have rushed with offers of military and economic assistance. But as it is, obstacles and restrictions are imposed on imports of Hong Kong goods by western countries, and there is little doubt that these restrictive policies represent a real threat to the entire economy of the Colony.

Sir Robert Black, Governor of Hong Kong, emphasised on December 4 in his speech at the 17th Exhibition of Hong Kong Products at Kowloon the Colony's absolute need to

sell its products freely in all overseas markets in equal competition with others. Sir Robert referred to the visit to Hong Kong by Mr. Kearns, the Assistant Under-Secretary of State in the United States Department of Commerce, and to the latter's discussions with representatives of the Hong Kong garment industry seeking some form of voluntary limitation on their exports to the United States. Sir Robert declared that "While we all understand the desire of American industry to seek some assurance that foreign imports will not swamp it to its own detriment, we trust that the United States will recognise Hong Kong's absolute necessity to sell its products freely in equal competition with others."

The three-year arrangement reached a year ago on limiting the Colony's exports of cotton piecegoods to the UK is considered a sacrifice by the Hong Kong industry, and local textile manufacturers have been asking lately for a temporary suspension of this agreement, pointing out that the position of Lancashire has taken a favourable turn in the meantime. But now the Hong Kong garment industry exports to the United States are threatened to be curtailed.

During the first ten months of 1959 Hong Kong's overall exports reached the value of HK\$ 2,638 million, representing an increase of nearly 10 percent as against the value of exports during the corresponding period of 1958. The 1959 exports included Hong Kong-manufactured goods to the value of HK\$ 1,838 million or about 70 percent of the overall exports. The Governor of Hong Kong, in his above-mentioned speech, expressed the hope that in 1960 the Colony's products would account for 75 percent of the total exports.

During the first ten months of 1959 the United States have become the biggest export market of Hong Kong, buying to the value of HK\$ 470 million (including HK\$ 447 million worth of Hong Kong-manufactured goods), representing an increase of about 80 percent as against exports during the corresponding period of 1958. The exports to Great Britain increased to HK\$ 375 million (including HK\$ 337 million of Hong Kong-manufactured goods) during the first ten months of 1959, or an increase of about 18 percent as against the corresponding period of 1958.

It is difficult to imagine that monthly exports at the rate of about £2 million to the UK, and of less than £3 million to the United States represent a threat to the economy of these two countries, while in the case of Hong Kong they account for over 40 percent of the global exports of the Colony's manufactured goods. In addition, US and UK exports to Hong Kong have increased in 1959, and both countries have a favourable trade balance in their trade with the Colony.



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## INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

### INDONESIAN CIVIL AVIATION INSTRUCTORS TO STUDY IN UK

Six apprentice instructors from the Indonesian Civil Aviation Academy at Tjurug (West Java) arrived in the United Kingdom in January for a six months' course in modern aircraft and maintenance techniques. They will divide their time between the British European Airways operations centre at London Airport, and a number of aircraft factories where they will attend courses on various types of aero engines and equipment.

### RESUMED NEGOTIATIONS ON BAUXITE EXPORTS TO JAPAN

Following talks held in Djakarta, negotiations were recently resumed in Tokyo on the conclusion of a contract under which Japan is to purchase 400,000 tons of bauxite from Indonesia. If realised, the contract will mean a considerable rise in the exports to Japan of this mineral, which up to now have amounted to 230,000 tons annually.

### SOVIET TECHNICAL AID CONTRACT WITH INDONESIA

An additional contract for the delivery of Soviet technical equipment, instruments and materials for the surveying and building of a motor road on the Island of Kalimantan (Borneo) was signed in Jakarta on December 22 between representatives of the Soviet foreign trade agency Tekhnoexport and the Indonesian Ministry of Public Works.

According to this contract the Soviet Union will supply Indonesia with motor vehicles, bulldozers, river boats, geodesical instruments and other equipment.

Representatives of Tekhnoexport have announced that the first group of Soviet specialists have already arrived in Kalimantan and begun work there in cooperation with Indonesian experts.

### CHITTAGONG ORDERS MARCONI EQUIPMENT

The Commissioners of the Port of Chittagong, East Pakistan, have placed an order with Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Co. Ltd. for the establishment of a VHF radio-telephone network to improve ship-to-shore communications within the port area and the Kharnaphuli river. The Port of Chittagong is the largest in East Pakistan and handles about 2,500,000 tons of goods and 1,500 shipping movements a year.

### SPARE JET ENGINES FOR BOEING START ARRIVING IN INDIA

The first Rolls Royce Conway jet engine ordered as a spare engine for Air-India's Boeing aircraft arrived in Bombay on Scindia's s.s. Jaladhir today.

This is the first of ten such spare jet engines which have been ordered in preparation for Air-India's jet services scheduled to start in April 1960. The Conway jet engines, costing over £75,000 (Rs. 10 lacs) each, will be placed at Air-India terminal stations where the Boeing aircraft are scheduled to operate.

### LOAN TO PHILIPPINE PAPER COMPANY

The Development Loan Fund announced the signing of a loan agreement under which the US will lend \$5,300,000 to the Bago Pulp and Paper Company, Inc., a privately owned concern, to help finance the establishment of a plant for making pulp and paper out of bagasse, a by-product of the sugar industry, on the island of Panay in the Philippines.

### PETROL-ELECTRIC AGGREGATE MOTOWATT

The electric-current aggregate MOTO-WATT, made by the firm Motosacoche S.A. in Geneva, has been particularly provided for the requirements in industry, in trade and in the building line. The

general use of asynchronous motors with squirrel-cage rotor for portable units and especially for builders' machines compels the designer of electric current aggregates to dimension the generator for the starting power of the motors to be fed, i.e. the generator must be capable of delivering a momentary output which is at least two or three times greater than its rated output, and a momentary current which is at least four to five times greater than the rated current.

On the other hand, the customer desires a light-weight, portable and economical electric current supply group, the cost price of which is as low as possible. This raises certain problems for the designer, the solution of which offers some difficulties. The selection of the driving engine—petrol or diesel—determines the mobility and production cost of the group. A two-cycle petrol engine is particularly light and advantageous in respect of cost price. Its fuel consumption, however, with about 540 grams/HP-hour, is the highest of all internal combustion engines. A diesel engine, whether of the two-cycle or four-cycle type, is very heavy and expensive, but has the advantage of being highly economical to operate. Its consumption amounts to about 200 grams diesel oil per HP-hour. An up-to-date petrol engine is light and its specific fuel consumption is about 300 grams/HP-hour. The MAG engine, type 1040-SRL, for instance, has a power/weight ration of less than 5 kg/HP, and its petrol consumption falls below 300 grams/HP-hour.

Supported by the long-existing demand on the market, and after a thorough study of the aforementioned aspects, Motosacoche S.A. has developed an electric current supply group of 6 kVA. It comprises a four-cycle MAG petrol engine, 1 cylinder, air-cooled, 9 HP, type 1040-SRL, and a direct-flanged generator, self-exciting, type MAG 7 B3, of special construction, whose advantages, combined with those of the associated switch and regulating box, result in the fact that the electric current aggregate MOTOWATT is light in weight, portable, but nevertheless powerful in output and economical.

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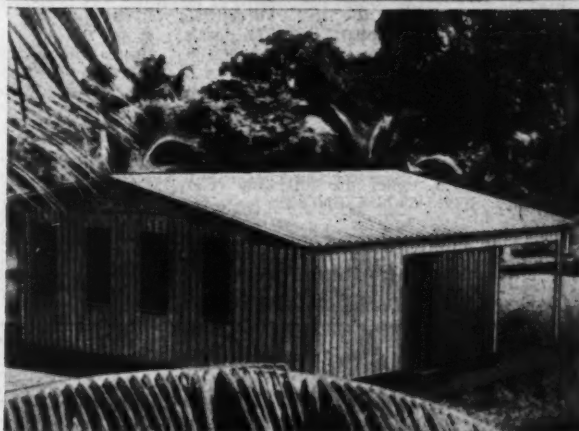


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## TENDERS

The Office of the Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, New Delhi, India, invites tenders for the following:

### TENDER ENQUIRY

No. PROJECT/SE/4241K/L

"For the supply of three 4,500 H.P. Horizontal Francis Turbines complete with step-up Transformers, Switch-gear, etc., for Trisuli Hydro-Electric Project, Nepal, India."

Specification, etc., relative to the above, can be obtained from the Co-ordination Branch, India Store Department, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, at a cost of £4 10s. 0d. per tender, and is not refundable. Tenders are to be returned direct to the Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, National Insurance Buildings, Parliament Street, New Delhi, India, so as to reach them by 2.30 p.m. on 16th February, 1960.

Specimen copy of the above enquiry can be seen at India Store Department Engineering Branch, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, under the following reference: S.3911/59/NSC/ENG.2.

The Director General of India Store Department, Government Building,

Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:

**FLEXIBLE MOUNTING Quantity  
for Rail Coaches ... 2060**

Forms of tender may be obtained from the above address after the 9th January, 1960, at a fee of 10s., which is not returnable. If payment is made by cheque, it should please be made payable to "High Commissioner for India." Tenders are to be delivered by 2 p.m. on Thursday, 18th February 1960.

Please quote reference No. 49/59/RLY.

The Office of the Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, invites tenders for the following:

**"For the supply of One-Eight Spindle Automatic Screw Machine for Chuck-work, Capacity 152mm. (6")."**

Specifications, etc., can be obtained from the Co-ordination Branch, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, at a cost of 10s. per tender and is not refundable. Tenders are to be returned to the above address by Thursday, the 11th of February, 1960.

Specimen copy of the enquiry can be seen at Engineering Branch, I.S.D., under the following reference: 2023/59/SSB/Eng.3.

The Office of India Supply Mission, 2536 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Wash-

ington, 8, D.C., United States of America, invites tenders for the following:

**TENDER ENQUIRY No. SE 131.  
"For the supply of Reverse Circulation Drilling Rig (Light Type) required by Neyveli Lignite Corporation (Private) Ltd."**

Specifications, etc., relative to the above specification, can be obtained from the Co-ordination Branch, India Store Department, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, at a cost of 14s. 3d. per tender, and is not refundable. Tenders are to be returned direct to India Supply Mission, 2536 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, 8, D.C., United States of America, so as to reach them by 16th February, 1960.

Specimen copy of the above enquiry can be seen at India Store Department, Engineering Branch, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, under the following reference: S.3888/59/NSC/ENG.2.

The Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of the following:—

**For 8 items of various quantities of:— Tungsten Carbide tipped Reamers, Cutters, Boring Tools, Milling Hobs, etc.**

Tender forms, price 10s., are obtainable from the above address, applications should quote reference 2034/59 ENG. 1. The opening date for tenders is Thursday, 18th February, 1960.

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